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Notes on reduplication in the Haisla language — Partial reduplication of the negative auxiliary verb —

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Abstract: In this paper I will point out that, according to my data, a plural form of the negative auxiliary verb formed by means of partial reduplication exists in the Haisla language in contrary to a description on the topic in a previous study. The plural number of the subject can, and in many cases must, be indicated by using a plural form of at least one of the components of the predicate, i.e. either an auxiliary verb (if there is one), the semantic head of the predicate or both. Therefore, I have examined which combinations of the singular and plural forms of the negative auxiliary verb and different semantic heads of the predicate are judged to be acceptable by native speakers of Haisla. My data suggests that – at least at this point – it seems to be impossible to make convincing generalizations about any patterns according to which the acceptability of different combinations could be determined*.

Keywords: Haisla, partial reduplication, negative auxiliary verb, plural, root extension

1 Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to introduce some preliminary notes about reduplication in the Haisla language from a morphosyntactic point of view as a first step towards a better understanding and a more comprehensive analysis of all the possible patterns of reduplication in the language. The focus of this paper is on the following two points: (a) The plural form of the negative auxiliary verb formed by means of partial reduplication, the existence of I will point out in contrary to some accounts of the topic made in the previous descriptions of the language (Bach, Robinson & Robinson n.d., Lincoln & Rath 1986a: 233) (b) The co-occurrence of the plural and singular forms of the negative auxiliary verb and the semantic head of the predicate in intransitive declarative clauses.

* All the data used in this paper is my own data collected during two field trips: September 1 – October 31, 2017 and June 27 – August 31, 2018, unless indicated otherwise. Both trips were made financially possible by the Nomura Foundation which has funded my studies since 2017. All the data were kindly provided by Mr. Nelson Grant and another consultant who wishes to remain anonymous. I would like to thank both of my consultants for their valuable teachings and willingness to help me with my research as well as two anonymous reviewers for their constructive comments.

In this chapter I will briefly provide basic information about the Haisla language including some genealogical and geographical information, as well as a typological profile and some basic linguistic information of the language from mainly a morphological point of view. After this I will introduce the topic of this paper in more detail.

In the second chapter I will introduce a study done previously on reduplication in Haisla by Bach (1990a) and point out the role that reduplication plays in expressing plurality in Haisla. After that the rest of the paper will deal with the plural form of the negative auxiliary verb formed by partial reduplication, actual examples and data, and the author's view on the possible interpretations of it.

Haisla is one of the several indigenous languages of Canada and is spoken by the Haisla first nation who resides on the Pacific coast in the central part of the province of British Columbia. The language is nowadays spoken primarily in the village of Kitamaat as well as in the surrounding area and by some members of the community who live in a diaspora elsewhere. Haisla belongs to the Northern Wakashan group of languages of the Wakashan language family. Haisla is a severely endangered language with 87 fluent speakers left¹.

Haisla has a basic Predicate-Subject-Object word order with a strong tendency of being head-marking. It is morphologically a very complex and almost exclusively agglutinating language with an extremely large inventory of derivational suffixes² out of which quite many are so called lexical suffixes that carry a rather lexical meaning. Every word consists of a root (morpheme) which usually carries at least one suffix with it (Vink 1977: 122). Since long strings of suffixes attached to one root are possible, there are words with relatively high morphemes-per-word ratio. In addition to this, Haisla also has a polypersonal marking on its predicates³ and an elaborated deixis system⁴ which is also manifested by obligatory deixis

¹ Information obtained by personal communication with Mrs. Teresa Windsor, Haisla Nation Council's Community Cultural Coordinator (2018).

² According to Bach (1995: 13), there are around 500 derivational suffixes in Haisla.

³ To be exact, there might be room for dispute over whether the personal markers should always be analyzed as being placed within the predicate because they are always attached to any clause-initial item, usually an *auxiliary verb* (AUX), unless there are both subject and object personal markers present in which case the object marker attaches to a word following the clause-initial item. These clause-initial items can sometimes be analyzed as an item outside the predicate, e.g. conjunctives. Because of this kind of morphosyntactic behavior of the person markers and the fact that they are absent whenever there is either a personal pronoun or a noun phrase in the subject position of the clause, I have adopted the view that they are (anaphorical) (en)clitics instead of person agreement suffixes.

⁴ The deixis system of Haisla has a four-way distinction with the following four deictic categories: *proximal*, *medial*, *distal* and a fourth one which I call *absent*. The first three categories are the conventional ones which can be found in many other languages that have a deixis system with three deictic categories, i.e. 'near the speaker' (proximal), 'near the listener' (medial) and 'not near to either one of them' (distal). Bach (2006: 267, 279) describes the fourth deictic category as a "spatiotemporal"

suffixes, and these have together led to a sizable set of inflectional suffixes as well. Hence, it is not surprising that Haisla has been described as a polysynthetic language (Bach 1995: 13).

However, the complexity of Haisla morphology does not rely solely on heavy suffixation as there can also be observed pervasive modification of the roots, which I call *root extensions*⁵ and which manifests itself mainly in the form of partial reduplication. Some of the patterns of reduplication on Haisla roots have been described in detail in previous studies, one of which by Bach (1990a) will be introduced in the next chapter.

Due to the omnipredicative nature of the Haisla language, a root from any lexical category can, in general, be used to form a stem⁶ to be used as the predicate of a clause. For example, stems semantically corresponding to English nouns can act as a predicate with the meaning ‘to be X’. These stems that carry most of the lexical contents of the predicate are referred to as the *semantic head (of the predicate)* in this paper. A predicate may consist of only the semantic head or it can also be preceded by one or more of the many *auxiliary verbs* (which also include the negative auxiliary verb). In this paper four criteria – both morphological and syntactic – are used to define an auxiliary verb in the Haisla language. An auxiliary verb is a word that fulfills all the following criteria:

- (I) It can form a predicate with a semantically noun- or verb-like semantic head of the predicate which carries most of the lexical meaning of the predicate.
- (II) It precedes the semantic head of the predicate.
- (III) It takes the anaphorical subject enclitic instead of the semantic head of the predicate unless it follows another auxiliary verb in which case the preceding auxiliary verb takes the enclitic.
- (IV) The only allomorph of the anaphorical clitic for the exclusive 1st person singular that it can take is =*n*.

Examples of predicates with and without an auxiliary verb can be seen below.

on the grounds that it does not seem to refer only to spatial deixis, unlike the other three categories, but also to a temporal one having a meaning “just gone”. According to Bach (2006: 279) and my own field data, the speakers often translate clauses with absential referent into an English clause that is in a past tense. Bach (2006: 268, 273, 279-280) also points out that there is an additional distinction between visible and invisible in all the deictic categories except for absential. Since I have not managed to collect data that could confirm the existence of the distinction based on visibility, I have excluded it from the deixis system in this paper.

⁵ Also called “stem extensions” by Bach (1990a).

⁶ As far as I know, a stem can consist of either one root, or a root with one or more derivational suffixes.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(1) gélwá gáda
canoe DEM.PROX
'This is a canoe.'</p> | <p>(2) wáb-ád=nug^wa
water-LS.to.have=1EXCL.SG
'I have water.'</p> |
| <p>(3) bibí'u-∅-enc gáda
uncle-DEIX.DIS-POSS.1EXCL.SG DEM.DIS
'That (over there) is my uncle.'</p> | <p>(4) 'íkuy=i qálela
AUX.CAP=3SG/PL.MED walk
'(S)he (near you) can walk.'</p> |

Plurality of the subject of a clause can be encoded by using a plural form of at least one of the components of the predicate, i.e. either an auxiliary verb, the semantic head of the predicate or both as seen in the examples below.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(5) 'i'íkuya=nis⁷ qálela
AUX.CAP.PL=1INCL.PL walk
'We (INCL) can walk.'</p> | <p>(6) 'íkuya=nis qiqálela
AUX.CAP=1INCL.PL walk.PL
'We (INCL) can walk.'</p> |
| <p>(7) 'i'íkuya=nis⁸ qiqálela
AUX.CAP.PL=1INCL.PL walk.PL
'We (INCL) can walk.'</p> | |

In the later chapters, after showing that the plural form of the negative auxiliary verb formed by means of partial reduplication exists in the first place, I will show what kind of combinations of the plural and singular forms of the negative auxiliary verb and the semantic head of the predicate are possible, and which of the combinations are allowed as acceptable expressions in the case of different semantic heads according to my data. After that, I will examine whether any generalizations can be made to describe patterns according to which all the acceptable combinations could be predicted.

The orthography used in this paper is a slightly modified version of the orthography used by Bach (2001: 72). All the consonant phonemes and graphemes of the orthography used in this paper are listed below⁹.

⁷ The place of stress is not confirmed.

⁸ The place of stress is not confirmed.

⁹ The consonant phonemes with the greatest allophonic variation are /p/, /t/, /k^l/, /k^w/, /q/, /q^w/, /ts/ and /t/ which have the following allophones: [p~b], [t~d], [k^l~g^l], [k^w~g^w], [q~g], [q^w~g^w], [ts~dž] and [t~d^l].

/p/:	⟨b⟩	/ts̄/:	⟨z⟩	/s/:	⟨s⟩	/kʷ/:	⟨gʷ⟩	/qʷ/:	⟨q̇⟩	/ʔ/:	⟨ʔ⟩	/l/:	⟨l⟩
/pʰ/:	⟨p⟩	/ts̄ʰ/:	⟨c⟩	/t/:	⟨t⟩	/kʷʰ/:	⟨kʷ⟩	/χ/:	⟨χ̄⟩	/h/:	⟨h⟩	/lʷ/:	⟨l̇⟩
/pʷ/:	⟨ṗ⟩	/ts̄ʷ/:	⟨ç̇⟩	/k/:	⟨g⟩	/kʷʷ/:	⟨k̇ʷ⟩	/qʷʷ/:	⟨q̄ʷ⟩	/m/:	⟨m⟩	/j/:	⟨y⟩
/t/:	⟨d⟩	/tʰ/:	⟨λ⟩	/kʰ/:	⟨k⟩	/xʷ/:	⟨xʷ⟩	/qʷʰ/:	⟨qʷ⟩	/mʷ/:	⟨ṁ⟩	/jʷ/:	⟨ẏ⟩
/tʰ/:	⟨t⟩	/t̄/:	⟨λ̄⟩	/kʷ/:	⟨k̇⟩	/q/:	⟨q̄⟩	/qʷʷʷ/:	⟨q̇ʷ⟩	/n/:	⟨n⟩	/w/:	⟨w⟩
/tʷ/:	⟨ṫ⟩	/t̄ʷ/:	⟨λ̄̇⟩	/xj/:	⟨x⟩	/qʰ/:	⟨q⟩	/χʷ/:	⟨χ̄ʷ⟩	/nʷ/:	⟨ṅ⟩	/wʷ/:	⟨ẇ⟩

The most recent and common views of the vowel phonemes of Haisla holds that there are three phonemic vowels (Lincoln & Rath 1986a: 1-34, Bach 2001: 72). I have adopted this view in this paper. The vowel phonemes and the graphemes used to write them in this paper are the following¹⁰.

/a/:	⟨a⟩	/i/:	⟨i⟩	/u/:	⟨u⟩
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Epenthetic vowels are used extensively to break consonant clusters, but these phonetic vowels have not been treated as phonemes in the major analyses made previously on the phonological system of the language since their occurrence is mostly predictable (Vink 1977, Lincoln & Rath 1986a). I have adopted this view in this paper. Various epenthetic vowels – referred collectively to as *schwa* in this paper – are written as ⟨e⟩. The stress – the location of which can be either a vowel or a syllabic resonant marked by a combination of a schwa and a resonant grapheme in the orthography – is marked with an acute accent.

2 Reduplication in Haisla

In this chapter I will introduce the analysis of Bach’s (1990a) work on the topic of reduplication in Haisla. This is the main work done previously on this topic. It is intended to

¹⁰ All the three vowel phonemes have allophones, some of which show only a slight difference from the most basic phonetic value of the phoneme, but coalescence of vowel phonemes in a same sequence and diphthongization also take place in certain environments (Lincoln & Rath 1986a: 1-34). Two of the most important of such changes are the diphthongization of the high vowels (/i/ and /u/) after any uvular or glottal consonant, and the coalescence of /ai/ into [e(:)] and /au/ into [ɔ(:)]. After uvular and glottal consonants, and to some extent also some ejectives of a different place of articulation, /i/ and /u/ become closing diphthongs resembling [eɪ] and [ou] respectively, with slight variation in the actual phonetic value (Vink 1977: 113). Sequences of the same vowel phoneme are pronounced in a different way depending on the phoneme (Lincoln & Rath 1986a: 22-24). Only /aa/ becomes a long vowel ([a:]) creating a length opposition between /a/ and /aa/, depending on whether stressed or not and on the phonetic environment (Lincoln & Rath 1986a: 24). When two different vowel phonemes form a vowel sequence there is usually a phonetic glide ([w] or [j]) pronounced between them (Lincoln & Rath 1986a: 1-34).

describe the main patterns of root extensions of the Haisla roots recognized so far which I will summarize in this chapter. I will also give a brief overview of how partially reduplicated roots used as (a part of) the semantic head of the predicate functions to express plurality depending on the person of the subject.

Bach (1990a: 2-3) lists the following nine types (Table 1) including one type with two subtypes as “the main types of stem extensions that occur in Haisla”. The examples of the expanded roots given by Bach (1990a: 2-3) include stems which have been formed by attaching (derivational) suffixes to the expanded root. These suffixes are not dealt in detail here as they are not relevant since the main point is the extension of the roots.

Table 1 – The main types of root extensions according to Bach (1990a)

Type	Root extension	Example
Type 1	Full reduplication of the whole root.	<i>bik-</i> ‘transfer fire’ ¹¹ > <i>bixbika</i> ¹² ‘lightning’
Type 2	A reduced form of the root (two consonants with a schwa between them) following the full root.	<i>cix̄^w-</i> ¹³ ‘crabapple’ / ‘sour’ > <i>cix̄^wcex̄^wa</i> ‘eat crabapples’
Type 3	The first consonant of the root repeated and followed by a schwa.	<i>čén-</i> ‘move in mass’ / ‘tidal rapids’ > <i>čéčén</i> ‘rapids’
Type 4a	The first consonant of the root repeated and followed by /i/ with the stress in its original position.	<i>pál-</i> ‘work’ / ‘lay hands on’ > <i>pípála</i> ‘work (PL)’
Type 4b	The first consonant of the root repeated and followed by /i/ with the stress shifting to the new (first) syllable.	<i>bek^w-</i> ‘human’ > <i>bibeg^wanem</i> ¹⁴ ‘people’

¹¹ Bach (1990a: 2) seems not to be sure about the given meaning of the root. However, Lincoln & Rath (1986b: 429) give the root the same meaning ‘to transfer fire’.

¹² The final consonant of the first component of the reduplicated stem has changed ($k \rightarrow x$) due to a regular sound alternation which dictates that aspirated velar and uvular consonants in a morpheme-final position change to homorganic fricatives when they are followed by a consonant or situated in a word-final position.

¹³ Bach (1990a: 2) gives the root *cix^w-* which ends in a labialized velar fricative x^w , but this should be viewed as a mistake as he uses its uvular counterpart \bar{x}^w in the example word. Also, according to Lincoln & Rath (1986a: 430), the root-final consonant should be a labialized uvular fricative.

¹⁴ The root-final k^w has changed to g^w due to a sound alternation called *end effect*. The end effect is a morphophonological phenomenon which means that certain suffixes cause certain preceding consonants to undergo a certain change (Bach 2001: 57-58). Aspirated stops like k^w are always targets of the end effect, and in the example of Type 4b the root-final k^w has lost its aspiration due to an end effect.

Type 5 ¹⁵	The first consonant of the root repeated and followed by /a/ with the stress shifting to the new (first) syllable.	<i>bel-</i> ‘prevent’ > <i>bábelá</i> ¹⁶ ‘sexually jealous’
Type 6	The initial consonant and the vowel of the root followed by a reduced form of the root (the two consonants of the root separated by a schwa).	<i>duq^w-</i> ‘see’/‘look’ > <i>dúdeq^wela</i> ‘see (PL)’
Type 7	Modification of the internal shape of the root: The nature of the modification depends on the shape of the root.	<i>ćip</i> ¹⁷ > <i>ćáipiu</i> ¹⁸ ‘cedar waxwing’
Type 8	Repetition of the first consonant with two /a/ vowels inserted.	<i>ḡek-</i> ‘woman’ > <i>ḡáḡaka</i> ¹⁹ ‘try to get a wife’
Type 9	One of the other types of reduplication (listed above) together with the insertion of a new consonant that can be <i>s</i> , <i>l</i> , <i>x</i> or <i>ʔ</i> . ²⁰	<i>buq^w-</i> ‘bud’ / ‘knob’ > <i>búsbeq^wa</i> ‘sea anemone’

Bach (1990a: 3) also mentions that the types of reduplication listed above in Table 1 sometimes occur with alternations in the first consonants²¹ and that there are other types of root extensions too in addition to the nine listed above, for example a type in which a vowel is inserted into a root-final consonant cluster.

The forms resulting from one of the above-mentioned root expansion types involving reduplication are used for many functions like expressing plurality or iterative aspect (Bach 1990a: 3). The function of the reduplication in Haisla dealt with in this paper is the first one,

¹⁵ Bach (1990a: 2) gives the following description of Type 5: “...just like Type 4a, but the new vowel is /a/ instead of /i/.” This would mean that the stress does not shift to the first syllable. However, the example Bach (1990a: 2) gives (*bábelá*) has its stress in the first syllable. Lincoln & Rath (1986a: 53) also describes the same lexeme (*bábelá*) as having its stress in the first syllable. Judged from this example, it would seem to be more correct to say that Type 5 should be described to be just like 4b (instead of 4a), unless there were some reason for describing Type 5 as being like Type 4a not mentioned by Bach (1990a), which is why I made the description as it is in Table 1.

¹⁶ The root-final *l* has been glottalized due to an end effect (cf. footnote 14).

¹⁷ Bach (1990a: 3) does not indicate the meaning of the root in this example, but according to Lincoln & Rath (1986b: 433) the root’s meaning is ‘wide’.

¹⁸ Bach (1990a: 3) also gives the following examples (without the meanings of the roots) of this type:
ḡáux^w- > *ḡáux^weksala* ‘squander’ / ‘scatter berries’ *ćem-* > *ćámaksala* ‘point aimlessly’
kíx^w- > *káux^weksala* ‘run in all directions’ *das-* > *dáaseksala* ‘play around diving’

¹⁹ The root-final *k* has been glottalized due to an end effect (cf. footnote 14).

²⁰ Bach (1990a: 3) notes that the Type 9 should be further subdivided according to the inserted consonant and the basic type of expansion of the root involved and that all these subtypes have been lumped into Type 9 as they are rather rare patterns and not very productive.

²¹ Common alternations being *s* → *y*, *ḡ* → *l* and *l* → *l* (Bach 1990a: 3).

i.e. plurality. In the next section we will have a look at how forms of roots formed by means of (partial) reduplication are used to express plurality of the subject in intransitive declarative clauses.

2.1 Reduplication and plurality

First, let's have a look at the inflectional system of the subject enclitics in intransitive declarative clauses. When there is no subject pronoun or noun phrase in a clause, an anaphorical enclitic indicating the person of the subject is attached to the predicate. The clitics are listed below in Table 2.

Table 2 – The subject enclitics of the Haisla language

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st person – Exclusive	= <i>n</i> / = <i>nug^wa</i> ²²	= <i>nux^w</i>
1st person – Inclusive		= <i>nis</i>
2nd person	= <i>su</i>	= <i>su</i>
3rd person²³ – Proximal	= <i>ix</i>	= <i>ix</i>
3rd person – Medial	= <i>u</i>	= <i>u</i>
3rd person – Distal	= <i>i</i>	= <i>i</i>
3rd person – Absental	= <i>gi</i>	= <i>gi</i>

As can be seen from Table 2, singular and plural share the same enclitic in 2nd and 3rd persons. However, as mentioned in the first chapter, plurality of the subject can be expressed by changing the predicate into a plural form, i.e. by using a plural form of either the semantic head of the predicate, the auxiliary verb, or both. There are stems that do not have a distinct plural form, but for those that have, there are two methods to form it. One method is to use a suppletive plural form and the another one is to form a plural form by means of a root

²² The anaphorical enclitic for the exclusive 1st person singular has two allomorphs =*n* and =*nug^wa* which are in free variation excluding any occasion when the enclitic is added to an auxiliary verb as pointed out in the previous chapter.

²³ The deixis system of Haisla manifests itself inflectionally in the 3rd person resulting into four subcategories of the 3rd person, reflecting the four deictic categories of Haisla: proximal, medial, distal and absental. However, the system is clearly going through a process leading to a simplification of it as some of the anaphorical subject and object clitics are often used to indicate more than one of the deictic categories. Especially the clitics indicating the medial category seems to be taking over the proximal and distal categories according to my own data. Even though all the anaphorical clitics and forms in the paradigm of the negative auxiliary verb listed in this paper have been labeled according to each of the four deictic categories, it must be acknowledged that some of them can be used also for other deictic categories too.

extension. This is where (partial) reduplication comes into the picture as it is by far the most common type of root extension as seen in the previous section, which is why many of the plural forms that exist there are formed by means of (partial) reduplication.

Because the 1st person and the other two persons differ in whether they have separate enclitics for singular and plural, the only way to express plurality of the subject in 2nd and 3rd persons is to use the plural form in the predicate. If there is no partial reduplication on the negative auxiliary verb while the plural form of the following semantic head is not used in the case of 2nd and 3rd persons, the default interpretation of the number of the subject would be singular²⁴.

When the semantic head of the intransitive predicate is accompanied by an auxiliary verb, there are potentially three different possibilities of expressing plurality in the 2nd and 3rd persons since there are three possible combinations of singular and plural forms of the two if at least one of them must be in the plural form. The number of potential combinations in the 1st person is four since it is possible to use the singular form of both the auxiliary verb and the semantic head of the predicate because there is no need to use any plural forms to express the plurality in the 1st person.

In the next chapter I will not only show that there exists a plural form of the negative auxiliary verb formed by means of partial reduplication, but also examine which combinations of the singular and plural forms of the negative auxiliary verb and the semantic head of the predicate are judged to be acceptable by the native speakers.

3 The partial reduplication of the negative auxiliary verb

One of the items fulfilling the criteria for an auxiliary verb is the negative auxiliary verb which is discussed in this chapter. Bach, Robinson & Robinson (n.d.) seem to list two allomorphs *kú(u)-* and *kú(u)s-* for the root of the negative auxiliary verb. Lincoln & Rath (1986b: 461) also give the root *kúu-*²⁵. Even though there might be some room for dispute over the root form of the negative auxiliary verb, this topic is not discussed in this paper because – as seen in this chapter – it does not have an effect on the type of root expansion (i.e. partial reduplication) on the negative auxiliary verb discussed in this paper. The full paradigm of the negative auxiliary verb according to Bach, Robinson & Robinson (n.d.) and Bach (1990b: 82) is shown below.

²⁴ Excluding all the instances when the semantic head is (derived from) a root that has no distinct plural form.

²⁵ Listed as “kww-” according to the phonemic script used by Lincoln & Rath (1986a, 1986b).

Table 3 – The paradigm of the negative auxiliary verb according to Bach, Robinson & Robinson (n.d.) and Bach (1990b)

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st person – Exclusive	<i>kú(u)=n</i>	<i>kú=nux^w</i>
1 st person – Inclusive		<i>kú=nis</i>
2 nd person	<i>kús=su²⁶</i>	<i>kús=su</i>
3 rd person – Proximal	<i>kús=ix</i>	<i>kús=ix</i>
3 rd person – Medial	<i>kús=u</i>	<i>kús=u</i>
3 rd person – Distal	<i>kús=i</i>	<i>kús=i</i>
3 rd person – Absental	<i>kús=gi</i>	<i>kús=gi</i>

Some examples of the forms in Table 3 are shown below.

- (8) *kú=n* *máliniḡ^w* (9) *kús=i* *máliniḡ^w*
 AUX.NEG=1EXCL.SG hunter AUX.NEG=3SG/PL.DIS hunter
 ‘I am not a hunter.’ ‘(S)he (over there) is not a hunter.’
- (10) *kú=nux^w* *málela* (11) *kús=su* *málela*
 AUX.NEG=1EXCL.PL swim AUX.NEG=2SG/PL swim
 ‘We (EXCL) are not swimming.’ ‘You (SG) are not swimming.’

There does not exist any description of possible root expansions of the negative auxiliary verb root known to the author of this paper, but there is a note by Bach, Robinson & Robinson (n.d.) stating that the plurality of the subject in intransitive declarative clauses is expressed by using the plural form of the semantic head – whenever there is a distinct plural form available – in the case of a negative predicate and there is no mention of a plural form of the negative auxiliary verb formed by partial reduplication or any other means. There is also no mention of any partially reduplicated form in a detailed description of the negative auxiliary verb by Lincoln & Rath (1986a: 233).

However, I have managed to find examples of a partially reduplicated form of the negative auxiliary verb – which I consider to be a plural form of the negative auxiliary verb – when collecting paradigmatic data of declarative intransitive sentences with negative predicates by

²⁶ The pronunciation is *kúcu* as *kús-* + *=su* triggers the following sound alternation: *s + s → c* (Bach & Bates 1971: 8).

elicitation. These forms occurred when the referential subject of the sentence was plural. Examples of the plural form of the negative auxiliary verb formed by partial reduplication with the subject enclitics of all the grammatical persons have been found. The pattern of the reduplication in each of these examples is that of either Type 4a or 4b introduced in the previous chapter as the first consonant of the root is repeated with the vowel /i/. The exact type still needs to be determined as I still have not managed to create a consistent analysis of the stress of all the forms found. Therefore, I have not indicated the stress for each of the combinations of the plural form of the negative auxiliary verb and a subject enclitic that I have found shown below.

1 st person plural – Exclusive	<i>kíku=nux^w</i>	3 rd person plural – Proximal	<i>kíkú=ix</i>
1 st person plural – Inclusive	<i>kíku=nis</i>	3 rd person plural – Medial	<i>kíkú=u</i>
2 nd person plural	<i>kíkú=su²⁷</i>	3 rd person plural – Distal	<i>kíkú=i</i>
		3 rd person plural – Absental	<i>kíkú=gi</i>

Some examples of these forms are shown below.

- | | | | |
|--|----------------|--|-----------------|
| (12) <i>kíkú=i</i>
AUX.NEG.PL=3SG/PL.DIS
‘They are not singing.’ | hená
sing | (13) <i>kíku=nis</i>
AUX.NEG.PL=1INCL.PL
‘We (INCL) are not tall.’ | gélteǎd
tall |
| (14) <i>kíku=nux^w</i>
AUX.NEG.PL=1EXCL.PL
‘We (EXCL) are not swimming.’ | mátele
swim | (15) <i>kíkú=su</i>
AUX.NEG.PL=2SG/PL
‘You (PL) are not swimming.’ | mátele
swim |

The most interesting findings about these forms is not only the fact that they exist and are used spontaneously, but also the observations about the accepted co-occurrences with the singular and plural forms of the semantic heads of the predicate depending on the semantic head used together with them. This will be discussed in the next section.

According to my data, the actual possible combinations of the singular and plural forms of the negative auxiliary verb and the semantic head of the predicate are the following.

²⁷ The pronunciation is *kíkucu* being a result of the same sound alternation that causes the form *kúcu*, i.e. *s + s → c*.

Table 4 – The possible combinations of the negative auxiliary verb and the semantic head of the predicate with a plural subject

Person of the plural subject	Possible combinations	
	The negative auxiliary verb	The semantic head
1 st person – Exclusive	(SG) kú=nux ^w	SG: ○ PL: ○
	(PL) kiku=nux ^w	SG: ○ PL: ○
1 st person – Inclusive	(SG) kú=nis	SG: ○ PL: ○
	(PL) kiku=nis	SG: ○ PL: ○
2 nd person	(SG) kús=su	SG: × PL: ○
	(PL) kikus=su	SG: ○ PL: ○
3 rd person – Proximal	(SG) kús=ix	SG: × PL: ○
	(PL) kikus=ix	SG: ○ PL: ○
3 rd person – Medial	(SG) kús=u	SG: × PL: ○
	(PL) kikus=u	SG: ○ PL: ○
3 rd person – Distal	(SG) kús=i	SG: × PL: ○
	(PL) kikus=i	SG: ○ PL: ○
3 rd person – Absental	(SG) kús=gi	SG: × PL: ○
	(PL) kikus=gi	SG: ○ PL: ○

This list of the actual possible combinations above matches perfectly – but unsurprisingly – with the notion made in the previous chapter that when it comes to the potential combinations of the plural and singular forms of the negative auxiliary verb and the semantic head of the predicate, there are four combinations in the 1st person and three combinations in the 2nd and 3rd persons. Next, let's have a look at which of the actual possible combinations listed in Table 4 are judged to be acceptable with certain semantic heads of the predicate.

3.1 Acceptable combinations of the negative auxiliary verb and the semantic head

It can be observed from my data, that the number of the combinations that are actually allowed to be used as acceptable expressions, depends greatly on the semantic head of the predicate as well as the consultant. The number of stems whose (almost) full paradigm of the occurrence with the negative auxiliary verb that were possible to collect as reliable data was not large. These ten stems are listed below²⁸.

²⁸ The stress is not indicated when its position is unclear.

<i>máliniḅ</i> ^w	‘hunter’	<i>himás</i>	‘chief’	<i>gélíeḅd</i>	‘tall’
<i>ček’weḅd</i>	‘short’	<i>k’ixqa</i>	‘angry’	<i>yákiqela</i>	‘sad’
<i>hená</i>	‘to sing’	<i>íepál</i> ²⁹	‘to fish’ (FUT)	<i>mátela</i>	‘to swim’
<i>dálanux</i> ^w	‘to have money’				

To get straight to the point, it is probably reasonable to think that it is very difficult to make any generalizations of the patterns of the acceptable combinations of the singular and plural forms of the negative auxiliary verb and the semantic head of the predicate that each of the above-mentioned stems allow to be used, not only because the number of stems whose full paradigms have been possible to collect is rather small, but also because of the following two reasons: (I) There clearly is a certain amount of uncertainty about how sure the consultants are about the acceptability of each combination. (II) The semantic variation of the stems is still perhaps too poor, even though there are stems denoting action/movement (verb-like stems), quality (adjective-like stems) and entity (noun-like stems). (III) The variation of the patterns of acceptable combinations between different stems is too varied to make strong generalizations, as seen below.

I have listed all the acceptable combinations of the singular and plural forms of the negative auxiliary verb and the semantic head of the predicate for each of the ten stems listed above (Table 5, see below)³⁰. The corresponding plural form of each stem is indicated below the singular form of the stem. All the stems have been divided into three semantic categories according to their meaning: verb-like stem (V), adjective-like stem (A) and noun-like stem (N). Also, two sets of combinations for one stem have been shown separately when a paradigm has been obtained from both consultants. All the acceptable combinations have been listed separately for each person with a formula in which SG stands for the singular form of the negative auxiliary verb or the semantic head of the predicate and PL for the plural form. The subcategories of the 1st and 3rd persons have not been shown separately unless the subcategories have different sets of combinations. When there is a need to differentiate the subcategories, the following letters have been used: E (exclusive), I (inclusive), P (proximal), M (medial), D (distal) and A (absent). An SG or PL placed on the left side of the plus sign (+) in the formula indicates the form of the negative auxiliary verb while one on the right side indicates the form of the semantic head of the predicate. The combinations have been

²⁹ The stem *íepál* is carrying a future tense suffix *-λ*.

³⁰ All data presented on Table 5 has been obtained by elicitation by asking the consultants to evaluate the acceptability of each combination.

presented with only one formula per person whenever there is data of the combinations with the singular or plural form of the negative auxiliary verb only, but when there is data of the combinations with both singular and plural forms of the negative auxiliary verb there are two formulas separated with a vertical bar (|) so that all the combinations with the singular form of the negative auxiliary verb are placed on the left side of the vertical bar and all the combinations with the plural form of the negative auxiliary verb on the right side³¹. Any details are explained in the footnotes.

Table 5 – All the acceptable combinations of the ten stems

Stem	Semantic category	Acceptable combinations	
		Consultant A	Consultant B
<i>máliniṅ^w</i> 'hunter' PL: <i>mimáliniṅ^w</i>	N	1PL: SG + PL PL + PL 2PL: PL + PL 3PL: PL + PL ³²	
<i>himás</i> 'chief' PL: <i>hi'emás</i> ³³	N	1PL: SG + SG/PL PL + SG/PL ³⁴ 2PL: SG + PL PL + PL 3PL: PL + PL	1PLE: SG + PL PL + PL 1PLI: SG + PL PL + SG/PL 2PL: SG + PL PL + SG/PL 3PL: SG + PL PL + PL
<i>gélitéṅd</i> 'tall' PL: <i>gigelitéṅd</i>	A	1PL: SG + SG/PL PL + PL 2PL: PL + SG ³⁵ 3PL: PL + PL	
<i>ček^weṅd</i> 'short' PL: <i>ciček^weṅd</i>	A	1PL: SG + SG/PL PL + PL 2PL: PL + PL 3PL: PL + PL	1PLE: SG + SG/PL PL + SG/PL 1PLI: SG + SG/PL PL + PL 2PL: SG + PL PL + PL 3PL: SG + PL PL + SG/PL

³¹ For example, "2PL: PL + SG/PL" would mean that all the combinations with the plural form of the negative auxiliary verb are accepted in the 2nd person plural, "1PL: SG + SG/PL | PL + SG/PL" would mean that all the possible combinations are accepted in the 1st person plural regardless of the clusivity, and so on.

³² There are no data of the proximal or absent 3rd person plurals when the semantic head of the predicate is *máliniṅ^w* 'hunter'.

³³ All the combinations of 1st and 2nd persons and SG + PL combinations of all the 3rd persons were tested with an alternative plural form *hihimas* of the semantic head of the predicate.

³⁴ The combination PL + PL in the case of the exclusive 1st person plural is not as certain as the other combinations of the 1st person plural when the semantic head of the predicate is *himás* 'chief'.

³⁵ It is unclear whether any other combinations than PL + SG are possible in the 2nd person plural when the semantic head of the predicate is *gélitéṅd* 'tall'.

<i>kʷíxqá</i> ‘angry’ PL: <i>kʷíkʷexqá</i>	A	1PL: SG + SG/PL PL + SG/PL 2PL: SG + PL PL + SG/PL 3PL: PL + PL	
<i>yákiqela</i> ‘sad’ PL: <i>yíyákiqela</i>	A	1PL: SG + SG/PL PL + SG/PL 2PL: PL + SG/PL 3PL: PL + PL	
<i>hená</i> ‘to sing’ PL: <i>hiʼená</i>	V	1PL: SG + SG/PL PL + SG/PL 2PL: SG + PL PL + SG/PL 3PL: SG + PL PL + SG/PL	
<i>ʔepáɺ</i> ‘to fish’ (FUT) PL: <i>ʔíʔepáɺ</i>	V	1PL: SG + SG/PL PL + SG/PL 2PL: SG + PL PL + PL 3PL: PL + PL 3PLM: PL + PL ³⁶ 3PLD: SG + PL PL + SG/PL ³⁷ 3PLA: PL + SG/PL ³⁸	
<i>mátele</i> ‘to swim’ PL: <i>mimátele</i>	V	1PL: SG + SG/PL PL + SG 2PL: PL + SG 3PL: SG + PL PL + SG/PL	
<i>dálanux^w</i> ‘to have money’ PL: <i>didálanux^w</i>	V	1PL: SG + SG/PL PL + SG/PL 2PL: SG + PL PL + SG/PL 3PL: PL + SG/PL	1PL: SG + SG/PL PL + PL 2PL: SG + PL PL + PL 3PL: SG + PL PL + SG/PL

³⁶ It is unclear whether any other combinations than PL + PL are possible in the medial 3rd person plural when the semantic head of the predicate is *ʔepáɺ* ‘to fish (FUT)’.

³⁷ The combinations SG + PL and PL + SG are not as certain as PL + PL in the case of the distal 3rd person plural when the semantic head of the predicate is *ʔepáɺ* ‘to fish (FUT)’.

³⁸ The combination PL + SG is not as certain as PL + PL in the case of the distal 3rd person plural when the semantic head of the predicate is *ʔepáɺ* ‘to fish (FUT)’. The consultant also pointed out that the combination PL + SG could perhaps mean that there is one person who is going to fish while saying that ‘They will not fish’. If this was true, it might suggest it to be possible that a combination of the plural form of the negative auxiliary verb and a plural form of the semantic head of the predicate could at least in the absental 3rd person plural have (in some cases) the meaning ‘Not all of them are/do X’. Since the consultant was not sure about the possibility of this kind of interpretation and since there are not any other similar examples, I will not discuss this topic any further in this paper.

Some examples of the acceptable and unacceptable combinations listed in Table 5 are shown below.

- (16) a) $\acute{k}u=nux^w$ $g\acute{e}l\acute{t}e\bar{x}d$ b) $\acute{k}u=nux^w$ $gigel\acute{t}e\bar{x}d$
 AUX.NEG=1EXCL.PL tall AUX.NEG=1EXCL.PL tall.PL
 ‘We (EXCL) are not tall.’ ‘We (EXCL) are not tall.’
- c) $*\acute{k}i\acute{k}u=nux^w$ $g\acute{e}l\acute{t}e\bar{x}d$ d) $\acute{k}i\acute{k}u=nux^w$ $gigel\acute{t}e\bar{x}d$
 AUX.NEG.PL=1EXCL.PL tall AUX.NEG.PL=1EXCL.PL tall.PL
 ‘We (EXCL) are not tall.’ ‘We (EXCL) are not tall.’
- (17) a) $*\acute{k}us=ix$ $k^w\acute{i}k^wex\acute{q}a$ b) $*\acute{k}i\acute{k}us=ix$ $k^w\acute{i}x\acute{q}a$
 AUX.NEG=3SG/PL.PROX angry.PL AUX.NEG.PL=3SG/PL.PROX angry
 ‘They (here) are not angry.’ ‘They (here) are not angry.’
- c) $\acute{k}i\acute{k}us=ix$ $k^w\acute{i}k^vex\acute{q}a$
 AUX.NEG.PL=3SG/PL.PROX angry.PL
 ‘They (here) are not angry.’

Possible conclusions that could be made about the data shown in Table 5 are discussed in the next chapter.

4 Conclusion

As seen from the data shown in the last section of the previous chapter, it seems to be difficult to make any generalizations of the acceptable combinations of the singular and plural forms of the negative auxiliary verb and the semantic head of the predicate according to which any rules for predicting all the acceptable combinations could be established.

At least the following observations could be worth mentioning about Table 5:

- 1) When there are two sets of acceptable combinations from each consultant, the sets are different.
- 2) Consultant B allows different combinations for each person with each stem.

- 3) Consultant A seems to treat the noun-like and adjective-like stems similarly in the sense that (s)he allows only one combination (PL + PL) for both semantic categories in the 3rd person.
- 4) It seems to be very uncommon to allow only combinations with a singular form of the semantic head of the predicate.³⁹
- 5) The combination of PL + SG seems to be the most unacceptable combination overall.

At the moment, the only generalization that I find possible to make is number 3) above. This is very interesting because if this generalization could be supported by more data from the consultant A, it could potentially provide valuable evidence for the debate over the topic of lexical categories in Haisla, i.e. the possible division of the roots into nouns, adjectives and verbs. One thing making this generalization less meaningful is the fact that there was a great degree of uncertainty about the acceptability of the combinations among the consultants during the elicitation before the final set of acceptable combinations was formed. Also, the number of collected examples is perhaps still too low to come to any conclusion.

On the other hand, there were also comments from the consultants pointing out that some of the acceptable combinations must be understood to be acceptable only in certain contexts. Because of this, it should be understood that “acceptability” of a given combination in this paper means that the combination can be used but not always. This of course raises a question about the actual meaning of the collected data and the adequacy of the methods used to collect it. Namely, if the data had been collected by taking the context more into consideration, it might be much more consistent, if we assume that there were underlying rules governing what kind of combinations were accepted with certain stems.

I will conclude this paper by remarking that for now there is not enough evidence to make any generalizations about the acceptability of the combinations of the singular and plural forms of the negative auxiliary verb and the semantic head of the predicate, and that combinations seem to be more or less in a free variation in the sense that there is no common tendency between the consultants, stems, nor persons. This may be a result of a diachronic change in the language as one of my consultants pointed out to me that the plural form of the negative auxiliary verb is used more often by the oldest generation of the native speakers^{40, 41}.

³⁹ This could of course be due the fact that only one kind of combination with a singular form of the semantic head of the predicate (PL + SG) can potentially be accepted in the 2nd and 3rd persons since a combination of SG + SG would lead to an interpretation of a singular subject, as pointed out in the Chapter 2.

⁴⁰ The consultant referred to the way of speaking of the oldest generation as “the old Haisla”.

If it was supported by more evidence, it might be possible to assume that the usage of the plural form was much more systematic in the past, which could imply that the system that might have been consistent earlier has now started to decline. Collecting data about combinations of singular and plural forms of the semantic head of the predicate and other auxiliary verbs could possibly shed some light to the big picture of the reduplication and plural forms of the auxiliary verbs.

List of abbreviations and symbols

-	Affix boundary	DIS / D	Distal
=	Clitic boundary	EXCL / E	Exclusive
∅	Zero morph	FUT	Future tense
○	Possible combination	INCL / I	Inclusive
×	Impossible combination	LS	Lexical suffix
1	First person	MED / M	Medial
2	Second person	N	Noun-like stem
3	Third person	NEG	Negative
A	Adjective-like stem	POSS	Possessive suffix
A	Absental	PROX / P	Proximal
AUX	Auxiliary verb	PL / PL	Plural
CAP	Capability	SG / SG	Singular
DEIX	Deixis suffix	V	Verb-like stem
DEM	Demonstrative pronoun		

⁴¹ Both my consultants are a little bit over or under 70 years old.

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ハイスラ語における重複について

— 否定助動詞における部分重複 —

ワットウクンプ テロ

要旨

本稿では、カナダで話されている先住民言語であるハイスラ語の否定助動詞には、先行研究における記述に反して、部分重複によって形成される複数形があることを、筆者が集めたデータに基づいて示す。ハイスラ語において、主語の複数性は述語で複数形を使うことによって表せる。述語が助動詞も含めている場合に、本動詞と助動詞のどちらかまたはその両方を複数形にすることができる。いくつかの述語の場合に否定助動詞と本動詞の単数形と複数形がどの組み合わせで出現できるかを調査した。集めたデータによれば、その組み合わせに関しては、一般化ができないようである。

キーワード： ハイスラ語、部分重複、否定助動詞、複数、語根拡張